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ABSTRACT

The 33 Negro public colleges enroll about one-fourth of all the black students now attending colleges and universities in this country. Although the total enrollment of these schools increased by more than 12 per cent this year alone, eight of them experienced a decline in enrollment and five others gained fewer than 100 students. Fourteen schools have direct competition from predominately white state institutions located in the same cities and towns, and at least three others are within easy commuting distance of a white college. These provide a vivid illustration of the inequities built into the "separate-but-equal" doctrine. In almost every case, the black school was there first; in at least seven instances, the state has created the "white competition" in the past four or five years. In every situation, the schools duplicate some courses and draw funds from the same public treasury. They represent a costly perpetuation of the dual system of higher education. Ultimately, the real test of a state's commitment to equality of opportunity in higher education will be measured by the extent to which black students, faculty, administrators, and trustees are represented in the colleges and universities. (Author/JM)

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RACE RELATIONS INFORMATION CENTER
P. O. Box 6156, 1109 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212
Telephone (615) 327-1361

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Black Public Colleges:

Integration and Disintegration

by John Egerton

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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About one-fourth of all the black students who now attend college in the United States are enrolled in state-supported institutions that were created to serve blacks only. Those institutions are now threatened by a series of developments characteristic of the "post-desegregation" era. Staff writer John Egerton, drawing on his own research and on the reportorial assistance of Pat Braden, describes in this Special Report some of the problems facing the black colleges and the states that operate them.

Egerton previously wrote "State Universities and Black Americans, An Inquiry into Segregation and Equity for Negroes in 100 Public Universities," published in 1969. Portions of this current study of black public colleges appeared in Race Relations Reporter, *Vol. 2, Nos. 8 and 9.*

JIM LEESON, *Editor*
Race Relations Reporter

INTEGRATION AND DISINTEGRATION

1. The Prevailing Patterns p. 5
2. Case Study: Tennessee State University p. 9
3. Case Study: Florida A&M University p. 15
4. Dismantling the System p. 27

Table: The 35 Black Public Colleges and Universities p. 30

1. The Prevailing Patterns

This year, for the first time in their history, the nation's 33 black state-supported colleges enrolled more than 100,000 students. The institutions, all but two of which are located in the 17 Southern and border states (Ohio and Pennsylvania have one each), have grown by almost 75 per cent in the past 10 years, and a glance at the enrollment figures suggests that they are thriving.

But a closer look tells another story. The Negro public colleges are in imminent danger of losing their identity through integration, merger, reduced status or outright abolition. Created in the era of legal segregation to provide higher education for Negroes, they were designed to be separate and proclaimed to be equal, but none of them ever has been provided with the resources or the support to achieve true parity with the colleges and universities created to serve whites. Now, in the "post-desegregation" era, the states are trying to decide where the black colleges fit, and so far there is practically nothing to indicate that any of the states is committed to a guarantee of actual equality for any black college or university. A few of the institutions may have moved closer to that ideal, and some of the states have achieved substantial desegregation, both in their formerly all-black and their previously all-white colleges and universities. But the prevailing pattern is one of racially separate and qualitatively unequal higher education.

As long as the Negro public colleges remain black-led, black-populated institutions, it would appear from the record that white-dominated state governments and higher education systems do not intend to invest the resources in them to bring them to full equity. A few of them have already become majority-white (a fact that does not necessarily alter their relative status in the state system). A few have been made branch campuses of larger white universities. A few of them probably will become junior colleges, or be shut down. And none of them now rates as a good bet to remain predominantly black but become equal in status, prestige, staffing and funding to its predominantly white sister institutions. A high-ranking black educator who has been following the trends states the case bluntly: "I can't point to a single example of hope in the record. There is a blueprint to get rid of the black institutions. We're not talking about integration but disintegration, not about merger but submerger, not about equity but inequity. If integration is going to mean that all of the black institutions must die, then white people shouldn't be surprised when more and more blacks say they don't want any part of it."

5

The 33 Negro public colleges enroll roughly one-fourth of all the black students now attending colleges and universities in this country. Although the total enrollment of these 33 schools increased by more than 12 per cent this year alone, eight of the schools experienced a decline in enrollment and five others gained fewer than 100 students. Actually, there are 35 public colleges and universities that were created to serve blacks, but two colleges—Maryland State and Bluefield (W. Va.) State—are no longer included on the list kept by the Office for the Advancement of Public Negro Colleges, an Atlanta-based division of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges. Maryland State has been made a branch campus of the University of Maryland, and Bluefield State is now majority-white.

Two schools on the list—West Virginia State and Lincoln University (Mo.)—also have a majority of white students, and presumably will no longer be designated as Negro colleges. Three more—Delaware State, Bowie State (Md.) and Kentucky State—have white enrollments of 30 to 40 per cent and appear likely to become majority-white before long. Prairie View A&M College is now a part of the Texas A&M University administrative structure, and Arkansas AM&N College will be merged with the University of Arkansas next year.

That leaves 26 institutions whose status as black colleges is essentially unchanged. No less than 14 of them have direct competition from predominantly white state institutions located in the same cities and towns, and at least three others are within easy commuting distance of a white college. The 14 that exist virtually side by side with mostly white schools provide a vivid illustration of the inequities built into the "separate-but-equal" doctrine. In almost every case, the black school was there first; in at least seven instances, the state has created the "white competition" in the past four or five years. In every situation, the schools duplicate some courses and draw funds from the same public treasury. They represent a costly perpetuation of the dual system of higher education. These are the 14 schools and their white competitors, with full-time undergraduate enrollment by race shown in parentheses:

- Huntsville, Ala.—Alabama A&M University (1,880 blacks, 50 whites) and the University of Alabama at Huntsville (10 blacks, 958 whites).
- Montgomery, Ala.—Alabama State University (2,286 blacks, 3 whites) and a new branch of Auburn University (4 blacks, 271 whites).
- Tallahassee, Fla.—Florida A&M University (3,841 blacks, 58 whites) and Florida State University (269 blacks, 12,040 whites).
- Albany, Ga.—Albany State College (1,834 blacks, 10 whites) and Albany Junior College (87 blacks, 885 whites).
- Savannah, Ga.—Savannah State College (2,184 blacks, 20 whites) and Armstrong State College (37 blacks, 1,236 whites).
- Grambling and Ruston, La. (about five miles apart)—Grambling

College (3,644 blacks, 29 whites) and Louisiana Tech University (392 blacks, 6,167 whites).

- Baton Rouge, New Orleans and Shreveport, La.—Southern University (11,753 students, fewer than 50 of them white) and Louisiana State University (1,147 blacks, 19,749 whites).
- Baltimore, Md.—Morgan State College (3,674 blacks, 137 whites), Coppin State College (1,163 blacks, 50 whites), Towson State College (161 blacks, 5,335 whites), and the University of Maryland-Baltimore County (153 blacks, 2,600 whites).
- Greensboro, N. C.—North Carolina A&T State University (3,338 blacks, 14 whites) and the University of North Carolina at Greensboro (146 blacks, 4,473 whites).
- Nashville, Tenn.—Tennessee State University (3,774 blacks, 11 whites) and the University of Tennessee-Nashville (32 blacks, 433 whites).
- Houston, Tex.—Texas Southern University (3,568 blacks, 28 whites) and the University of Houston (363 blacks, 12,253 whites).
- Norfolk, Va.—Norfolk State College (4,075 blacks, 42 whites) and Old Dominion University (91 blacks, 5,413 whites).
- Petersburg, Va.—Virginia State College (2,158 blacks, 30 whites) and Richard Bland Community College (5 blacks, 538 whites).

(The figures above are taken from the fall, 1970, enrollment survey conducted by the Office for Civil Rights of the U. S. Department of Health, Education & Welfare.)

Because of their state support and their proximity to each other, the institutions on this list are the most visible remaining illustrations of what dualism is all about. The Southern-LSU campuses, for example, have been duplicated not only in Baton Rouge but in New Orleans and Shreveport as well. And in no less than nine of the cities—Huntsville, Montgomery, Albany, Savannah, Baltimore, Greensboro, Nashville, Houston and Petersburg—the states have either created new institutions or converted private ones to public support. The effect has been to avoid developing the black schools as integrated institutions on a par with the rest of the system.

There is no lack of data on the Negro colleges—as a group, they may be the most-studied segment of our higher education universe. Within the past few months, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education has produced two more such studies (*From Isolation to Mainstream: Problems of Colleges Founded for Negroes,* and *Between Two Worlds,* both published by McGraw-Hill). There are, in addition, several organizations devoted to the welfare of the black colleges, including the United Negro College Fund, the Office for Advancement of Public Negro Colleges, the Southern Regional Education Board's Institute for Higher Educational Opportunity, and the National Association for

Equal Opportunity in Higher Education. And there are foundations and federal agencies that support them.

But the black institutions—the public ones in particular—are vastly different from one another in many ways, and in spite of all the studies and programs of support, there is no consensus on what roles they should play. At least seven federal court lawsuits attacking dual systems of higher education have been filed since 1968. State officials, after more or less ignoring the black colleges for many years, have reacted to the growing visibility of them in a variety of ways, including formula funding (Florida), supplemental funding (North Carolina), merger (Maryland) and the creation of "competitive" or "alternative" institutions (Alabama). Federal officials in HEW and the U. S. Office of Education have exhibited a bewildering inconsistency in their approach to the black colleges. And adding to the complexity of the issue is the fact that most of the colleges and universities involved, whatever their dominant race, now have both students and faculty of the opposite race. Through all this, most of the institutions remain racially identifiable, unequal in status and quality, wastefully duplicative, and permeated with the style and substance and symbolism of segregation.

The six formerly all-black institutions that have been desegregated by a substantial influx of white students (Bluefield State, West Virginia State, Lincoln of Missouri, Delaware State, Bowie State and Kentucky State) and the three that have been annexed by larger, majority-white universities (Maryland State, Prairie View and Arkansas AM&N) are all located some distance away from the nearest predominantly white institution. It is by no means assured that those nine schools, by virtue of their changing status, are no longer burdened by discrimination and inequity. It does seem, however, that the vestiges of segregation are more visible, more serious and more complex at the 14 institutions that have nearby competition.

It would be necessary to examine all 14 of them in some detail to gain a full understanding of the subtleties and the variations in each situation. Case studies of two—Tennessee State and Florida A&M—are offered here.

* * *

2. Case Study: Tennessee State University

Tennessee State University is a predominantly black land-grant institution with 4,400 students and $35 million physical plant. It has been in Nashville since it first began enrolling students in 1912. The University of Tennessee-Nashville, a branch campus of the state's oldest and largest university, has 2,500 students and a $5 million physical plant. It was established as a night school in 1947, but a law passed last March by the Tennessee General Assembly gave it new status as a full-fledged branch of the University of Tennessee, with authority to grant its own degrees. The new law specifies that the institution is authorized "to offer programs primarily in the evening," but it does not expressly prohibit day programs, and it does not in any way restrict UT-N from offering courses and granting degrees in direct competition with TSU.

When segregation was the order of the day, nobody bothered to question the high cost, duplication and inefficiency—not to mention the inequity—of maintaining separate educational facilities. Legal attacks on segregation began to increase in the 1950's, and the clear and simple objective of those attacks was to bring an end to laws that forced black and white people and institutions to function in isolation from one another. Now legal segregation is dead, and the laws have been changed, but dual systems and other inequities remain, and no clear strategy has yet emerged for their dismantling.

The Nashville case illustrates how complex the new dimensions of this old problem have become. Almost three years ago, a federal judge in Nashville ruled that public colleges, like public schools, have "an affirmative duty . . . to dismantle the dual system. . . ." Until then, no federal court had placed colleges under the same legal imperative as public schools. But since then, the two institutions in Nashville have made no substantial movement in that direction, the status of UT-N has changed considerably, and the judge has made no move to resolve the still-pending case.

The suit involving the two schools was filed in 1968, after UT officials announced plans to construct a $5 million facility to house its night school in Nashville. The plaintiffs included a student and a faculty member from both the UT center and TSU, with financial backing from the Field Foundation in New York. They asked for an injunction against the construction project, contending that it was the first step in a plan to perpetuate the dual system of higher education, and they argued

that expansion of the UT program would be both economically indefensible and illegal, since TSU already had the capability to provide the same programs. The UT officials insisted that they had no intention of expanding their operation at TSU's expense. All they were interested in, they said, was providing improved opportunities for working people —including blacks—to get a college education at night.

Judge Frank Gray Jr. refused to halt the construction, but his ruling that the state had "an affirmative duty to dismantle the dual system" gave the plaintiffs and their attorney, George Barrett, reason to be encouraged that an equitable resolution of the conflict would be forthcoming. Judge Gray ordered the state to report back to him with a specific plan for eliminating the racial segregation that still existed in the state's colleges and universities, and the plaintiffs did not appeal his decision to let the UT construction program continue.

The Tennessee Commission on Higher Education, a coordinating agency for all of the state's public colleges and universities, has been mainly responsible for filing the plans and progress reports Judge Gray called for. The nine-member commission (including one black) is a relatively new agency with limited powers. It has come under frequent attack from some educators and state officials who fear that greater centralization of college and university operations would erode the power and influence they now hold. The existence of the commission has drawn attention to the fact that Tennessee has a second kind of dual system of higher education, in addition to its racial one: It has the University of Tennessee, with its own board of trustees and a network of campuses in five cities, and it has another group of community colleges and state universities, of which TSU is one. The State Board of Education governs that group of institutions. (All 19 members of the UT Board of Trustees are white, as are 11 of the 12 members of the State Board of Education.)

The Tennessee Commission on Higher Education is supposed to lessen the duplication and competition between these two giants, but it lacks the legal and political power to force broad changes. In the reports it has filed with Judge Gray, the commission has chosen not to advocate any kind of merger of TSU and UT-N, but has suggested instead a number of joint programs, exchanges and cooperative ventures. The plaintiffs have filed objections to those reports, saying the state has not shown any evidence that it intends to dismantle the dual system, and they have suggested that UT-N be turned over to TSU.

Two weeks after the state gave one of its progress reports to the court on April 1, 1970, Dr. Andrew D. Holt, who was then UT's president, recommended to his board of trustees that a chancellor be named for the Nashville center and that steps be taken to upgrade it to a degree-granting branch of the university. With what TSU officials and the plaintiffs considered unseemly haste, the UT board approved the idea,

organized a search for a chancellor, screened candidates, named a man to fill the post, and bought a house for him—all in less than two months. Dr. Roy Nicks, then with Memphis State University, got the job, and from sources inside the UT administration it was learned that Nicks had been hand-picked by Holt for the job even before the "search" began.

Barrett, the plaintiffs' attorney, filed a motion for further relief with Judge Gray after Nicks was appointed, but the judge, who has issued no rulings in the case since August, 1968, when he first told the state to dismantle the dual system, did not respond to the motion. (See **Note** pg. 14)

The 1971 Tennessee General Assembly now has formalized the elevation of UT-N to degree-granting status by writing it into law, and Barrett has asked the court to take judicial notice of that fact and its implications for continued segregation. TSU's president, Dr. Andrew P. Torrence, strongly opposed the bill in the legislature, and about 250 TSU students marched to the capitol to protest the measure. Winfield Dunn, the state's first Republican governor in 50 years, reportedly considered vetoing the bill. When he finally signed it he stated flatly that "the Nashville campus will not move into the area of university activity during the day [but will] continue to serve only as an educational center for those who cannot attend classes during the day." The governor said his remarks were intended to "satisfy the students" of TSU who had exhibited a "perfectly normal . . . concern that the new center might create inroads on their university."

Senator Avon N. Williams of Nashville, one of eight black members of the legislature, introduced a bill that would designate TSU as the primary state institution of higher learning in Nashville, and a large number of TSU students demonstrated at the capitol in favor of the bill, but support for the measure among the 124 white members of the legislature was practically nil.

The net effect of developments since the suit against UT was first filed has been a progressive increase in the status and strength of UT-N and a progressive decline in the position of TSU. UT-N now has about 2,500 students—including fewer than 150 blacks—and the university, having established a firm base in the state capital, has shown no apparent willingness to consider TSU as anything more than a junior partner there. UT officials have maintained all along that they have no intention of expanding their Nashville program into a daytime operation competing with TSU, and both former President Holt and his successor, Edward Boling, have repeatedly denied all suggestions to the contrary. But the university's handling of the Nashville operation has not exactly inspired confidence at Tennessee State in UT's intentions.

At TSU, there is a prevailing atmosphere of suspicion and defensiveness, and an attitude of doubt and fear about the future. In the fall of 1966, the university had more than 5,600 students, virtually all of them black and 2,300 of them—over 40 per cent—from out of state. Since

then, the State Board of Education has put a ceiling of 15 per cent on new students from out of state at all of the institutions under its jurisdiction, and it has raised both the admission requirements and the costs for such students. As a result, TSU's out-of-state enrollment is now down to 20 per cent and still falling, and the total enrollment has dropped 1,200 below the 1966 high. Meanwhile, black enrollment in Tennessee's other public colleges and universities now exceeds 4,000—five per cent of the total—and both the number and the percentage of blacks in those institutions has increased substantially in the past four or five years. (It should be noted, however, that half of the 4,000 are at Memphis State University, and at least five institutions—including UT-N—have a smaller percentage of black students this year than they had in 1969-70.) TSU still has considerably less than 100 white students, but white faculty members are more in evidence, in part because of their availability and the corresponding scarcity of black professors, who are in demand at desegregating white schools as well as at the black institutions.

In addition to the competition UT-N has raised against TSU, the state has opened two post-secondary vocational and technical institutes in Nashville in the past three years. Both could have been incorporated in some way with TSU—officials there say they need such facilities, and have the space for them—but such an affiliation was never formally considered. Further overlapping of facilities will take place next fall when a new state community college opens in Gallatin, in the northeast corner of the Nashville metropolitan area. In Tennessee government and education circles, one of the more widely held notions about what will eventually happen to TSU is that it will be downgraded to junior college status.

TSU was founded on the philosophy of segregation. For most of its history it has been deliberately understaffed and undersupported by the state, and it never has had the strengths of curriculum, faculty or students to operate as a full and equal partner in the state's higher education system. Against impossible odds it has managed to produce some outstanding graduates. But a majority of its students still lack the financial resources or the educational preparation to make it through college without help, and as a consequence of its service to those students, the university is branded as an "inferior" institution. It has been unable to attract white students, and in a state where less than 20 per cent of the population is black, the ceiling on out-of-state students and the increasing desegregation of other Tennessee colleges are making it harder for TSU to get blacks.

Until quite recently, the State Board of Education's attitude toward TSU amounted to little more than benign neglect. There are now some signs that a belated attempt to strengthen the university will be made, in part because of the competition caused by UT's growth in Nashville.

12

On March 16, the board of education met on TSU's campus for the first time in its history, and Gov. Dunn, an *ex officio* member of the board, attended the meeting. In a statement of "full faith and confidence" in TSU, the board described the institition as "an educational base on which we must build a viable institution to better serve all the citizens of Tennessee."

The State Board of Education is clearly unwilling to surrender to the UT incursion in Nashville without resistance. UT, on the other hand, has apparently decided its own plans for a strong presence in Nashville will be developed independently of TSU, insofar as possible. The Tennessee Commission on Higher Education, in its efforts to reconcile these two positions, is hampered by its own limited powers. Until the federal court specifies what is required to dismantle the dual system of higher education, the stalemate will continue. Judge Gray still has given no indication when—or even if—he will render a decision. When he was called recently by a staff member of the Race Relations Information Center inquiring about the case, the judge referred the caller to the lawyers and abruptly hung up the phone. (See **Note** pg. 14)

There appear to be at least four alternatives in the UT-TSU dispute:

- A merger under the UT Board of Trustees, with both Nashville campuses operated under one administration as the University of Tennessee at Nashville;
- A merger under the State Board of Education, with a similar unified administrative arrangement dominated by Tennessee State University;
- A division of specialized programs between the two campuses, eliminating all duplicating departments and services;
- A continuation of the status quo, including competition, duplication and *de facto* segregation.

There is no possibility that any of these options would be fully satisfactory to any of the parties in the dispute, and all of them raise serious questions of legality and equity. No one knows, for example, whether TSU can survive as a predominantly black institution, or whether white students will begin to go there in substantial numbers, or what would be the effect on its black history and traditions if it became a majority-white school. There is a question whether the state would provide continued expansion of higher educational opportunity to black students if TSU's present role were changed. There is a question whether TSU could make an open and concerted effort to specialize in educating low-income, underprepared students without being branded as a second-rate institution. There is a question whether any change in the programs, services, student body or staff of TSU can be brought about without threatening the identity, the name or the traditions of the school—and also threatening the future employment status of its faculty and staff. And finally, there is a question whether TSU and UT-N can exist sepa-

rately in Nashville without one or the other being destroyed by the competition.

It is not hard to find fault in the conduct of virtually all parties in the current higher education dispute in Nashville. UT, for example, has apparently been less than candid about its intentions, and has used a maneuver long since discredited in public school integration—namely, freedom of choice—to justify its Nashville expansion. (UT, in effect, has provided white students unwilling to attend TSU with another choice.) The State Board of Education does not appear to have a specific plan for strengthening—or integrating—TSU, and neither the board nor the administrators of its member institutions have been supportive of TSU in the past. The U. S. Office of Health, Education and Welfare, in a display of confusion that would be comic if it were not so serious, has contributed construction funds for the UT center, provided supplemental aid funds to TSU, and threatened the state with a cutoff of federal funds if it does not eliminate segregation in all its public colleges and universities. Judge Gray, after telling the state it must dismantle the dual system, went for 33 months without responding to the state's subsequent efforts or the plaintiffs' objections. And the plaintiffs' attorney, with a $45,000 support fund from the Field Foundation and the investigative and research support of three nationally known race-and-education experts (Kenneth Clark, Hylan Lewis and David Cohen), may not have exhausted all the legal options open to him to bring the case to resolution.

But finding fault is seldom difficult. What is much harder is finding a remedy. The dual system of higher education remains intact in Nashville, and the state treasury continues to support it, in spite of its waste and inefficiency and inequity.

NOTE: Portions of this chapter on UT-N and TSU first appeared in the *Race Relations Reporter* on May 3. On May 17, Judge Gray notified the parties in the court suit that a hearing would be held June 14, at which time he would consider the plaintiffs' motion for further relief and ask all parties to make known their present position in the case.

* * *

3. Case Study: Florida A&M University

The state of Florida has the largest public higher education system in the Southeast, with 72,000 students in seven universities and another 100,000 in 27 community colleges.

One of those 34 institutions is Florida A&M University, where nearly 4,500 students are enrolled. In the total scheme of things, FAMU is not one of the state's giants—five of the other six universities and even a few of the community colleges are larger. But it has an importance out of all proportion to its size, and it is a preoccupation with most of the people engaged in planning Florida's higher education future, for two basic reasons. First, it is located in Tallahassee, almost within shouting distance of Florida State University, the second largest university in the system. And second, it is Florida's only traditionally and predominantly black public institution.

Florida State University, with 17,000 students, and Florida A&M, which is about one-fourth as large, are about a mile apart in Tallahassee, a north Florida city of 75,000 people. The universities form two points in a triangle of institutions that dominate the city. The third, symbolized by the golden-domed capitol, is state government. Of the three, FAMU is by far the least imposing. It has been the stepchild of Florida's university family for all of its 84 years—no ugly duckling, to be sure, for its campus is attractive and well-landscaped, but a low-profile, low-prestige, low-priority institution.

Florida State, on the other hand, is the mother of the family. A girls school until 1947, it has become a sprawling multiversity of high state and even national visibility. Given the long dominance of the white race in Florida—both legally and numerically—it follows as a matter of course that the arrival of desegregation in the 1960's would find FSU vastly more developed in almost every respect than FAMU. The state had provided as much as it had to to assure segregation, and no more—as when it gave FAMU a law school in 1947 to keep Negroes out of the law school at the University of Florida in Gainesville, and then closed the FAMU school 20 years later to clear the way for a new one at FSU. Under segregation, FAMU had a great marching band, a nearly invincible football team, and little else of superior quality, but it was at least secure in what it had, and in many remarkable ways it made the most of its small share. Still, segregation was imposed by the white majority. Now desegregation has arrived, and its pace and style and

character are also being engineered by the white majority. FAMU, the weak sister, is beginning to suffer the consequences, and ultimately they may be fatal.

The threatened demise of FAMU calls to mind a disturbing precedent in Florida for such an event. Between 1962 and 1965, the state closed all 12 of the segregated junior colleges it had been operating for Negroes. In their last year of operation they enrolled about 3,300 students, but in those same counties the following year there were fewer than 2,300 black students in the formerly all-white junior colleges. Most of the administrators and faculty members of the black institutions also were displaced. By 1970, blacks made up close to nine per cent of the 100,000 students in Florida's network of community colleges (including 6,000 out of 67,000 full-time students), but the fact remains that closing the black junior colleges had the immediate effect of putting about 1,000 students out of college and an untold number of administrators and teachers out of their jobs.

Probably no one would argue now that it was a mistake to close the black junior colleges. It was a mistake to have opened them in the first place, and now almost three times as many black students are enrolled in community colleges of higher quality. But FAMU is a different case. It has more students than the 12 black junior colleges combined could claim. It is an old institution whose alumni revere its positive history and traditions. It has continued to grow in spite of increasing desegregation in the state's other colleges and universities. Ten years ago, the state might have been able to merge FAMU and FSU without inciting the ire of Florida's black population. Today, even if administrators, faculty and students were assured of protected status, such a move would be politically explosive. An alumnus of FAMU who is now an administrator in one of the junior colleges stated the case succinctly: "If they close FAMU, they'll reap the whirlwind. You guys [whites] invented 'all deliberate speed'—you better damn well use it now."

What to do with FAMU has been a question on the minds of Florida educators and public officials for almost a decade, and since 1967 the question has popped to the surface several times. In the legislature, the state cabinet, the governor's office, the board of regents (governing body for the university system) and in the universities themselves, controversy has followed quickly on the heels of any suggestion that FAMU's status be changed. The governor, the legislature and the regents—along with the university's alumni association—are on record supporting continued autonomy, but bills calling for merger of the two institutions have been introduced on occasion, and as recently as April, 1971, two Democratic state senators brought the matter up for discussion again. Lee Weissenborn of Miami and John Broxson of Gulf Breeze asserted that it is economically unfeasible to support two universities with separate administrations in the same city. One of them called FAMU "a

monument to racial separation," and the other said the state should not continue to finance the retention of black culture in a separate institution.

Senator Mallory Horne of Tallahassee, an ardent segregationist in the days when that was a fashionable stance for a Florida legislator, is a staunch defender of FAMU's autonomy. He called the merger idea "absurd," and said it "would behoove these distinguished gentlemen [Weissenborn and Broxson] to attend to subjects of which they have some modicum of knowledge." Throughout the state government and the higher education establishment, the FAMU question has produced a curious and unpredictable alignment of supporters and opponents for each of several alternative courses of action. The U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare's Office for Civil Rights seems equally as uncertain of its position. It has told FAMU and the other Florida universities they must increase desegregation, but has been vague about specifics and about the consequences for them if more desegregation does not take place.

There is no simple solution to the FAMU dilemma, and in fact, every possible alternative—including the status quo—seems almost to create as many problems as it solves. These are some of the factors:

- FAMU's enrollment has increased by about 1,000 in the past 10 years, but it has now leveled off at about 4,500, and a critical housing shortage on th campus prevents further increases. Dormitories are severely overcrowded (2,200 students occupying spaces designed for 1,800), and off-campus housing is scarce and expensive.
- According to a federal survey of last fall's full-time undergraduate enrollment, 30 per cent of the black students in Florida (3,841 out of 12,979) are at FAMU, and the formerly all-white junior colleges, state universities and private colleges enroll 57 per cent of the black students, compared to 43 per cent for FAMU and three black private colleges.
- The junior colleges, with 6,000 full-time undergraduates who are black, seem destined to increase their black enrollments, in part because they are cheaper and closer to home for the general population. A statewide survey of high school seniors last fall showed that more blacks indicated a preference for attending a public junior college (35 per cent) than a state university (30 per cent), a private college (9 per cent) or an out-of-state school (21 per cent). Of those blacks who said they plan to attend a Florida institution, 1,130 (18 per cent) listed FAMU as their first choice. It used to be their only choice.
- Junior college graduates transferring into the university system are becoming a major source of new students for the universities, and their number is increasing rapidly. FSU has enrolled 2,755 junior college transfers in the past two years. Over that same period, FAMU enrolled only 170.
- FSU has increased its full-time black enrollment from 60 to al-

most 400 in the past three years. At FAMU, there were three non-blacks in the full-time student body in 1967, and 67 last fall.

- In spite of extensive efforts by several departments to work out cooperative exchange programs between FAMU and FSU, fewer than 100 students (including 75 whites from FSU) took part during the 1971 winter quarter.
- The state opened a community college in Tallahassee in 1966. It had 700 students the first year, including 125 blacks (18 per cent). Last fall the enrollment had climbed to 2,100, but no more than 100 (not quite 5 per cent) were black. It is widely acknowledged in Tallahassee that the junior college was built primarily to accommodate white students who could not get into FSU and would not enroll at FAMU.
- Admission to the Florida universities is based in large part on scores from a battery of tests given to all high school seniors. A score of 300 or above (the top 40 per cent) is required at all of the universities except FAMU, which is more nearly an open-admission institution. The other universities are permitted to make an exception to the rule for up to five per cent of each freshman class, and most of them take advantage of the exception. Some blacks, athletes, youngsters with special talents and children of influential citizens get in through that small hole in the meritocratic screen. About 80 per cent of FAMU's freshmen score below 300 on the tests. Since FSU has far more qualified applicants than it can admit, the university goes first for the students with the highest scores. The average score for incoming freshmen last fall was about 420, an increase of 20 points or so over the past five years. The average score for FAMU freshmen over the same period has remained at about 220.
- About one-third of FAMU's faculty hold doctorates, and about 70 per cent of the total group are black. It is difficult to increase these two percentages, because blacks with the doctorate are highly sought after in the academic marketplace, and most black colleges are at a competitive disadvantage in bidding for them.
- Four of every five FAMU students need some form of financial aid to stay in school, and federal funds—the chief source of such aid—have not kept pace with need.
- FAMU is finding it harder to recruit athletes because of competition from predominantly white universities—among them FSU, which had an all-black basketball team this year.

All of these factors combine to complicate either the merger of FAMU with FSU or the strengthening of FAMU as a separate institution, whether it be integrated or identifiably black. And because of the complications, no clear strategy for change is being followed.

But change is taking place nonetheless, and FAMU's future as an independent university is not favored by it. Enrollment in the state's universities increased from 27,000 to 72,000 in the past 10 years, and jun-

ior college growth has been even more explosive. There has been an alarming rise in costs at the same time. Against these trends has been the general economic downturn, and now the legislature is preoccupied with recovery. Higher education, like all government services, is being forced to economize, and inevitably, that line of thinking leads to another look at the FAMU-FSU relationship. Nobody wants to take the politically unpopular position of pushing merger legislation, but there are at least a dozen visible clues that such a move will eventually be made. The closing of the FAMU law school was simply one step among many that have either been taken or talked about. The opening of Tallahassee Community College was another. Some of the others:

- A proposal in the legislature that a concept of regional universities be developed. It would combine administrative operations of schools close to each other, such as Florida Atlantic and Florida International universities on the lower east coast and FSU and FAMU in Tallahassee.
- The planned closing of the FAMU hospital, built by the state and leased to the city years ago to assure segregated health care. A larger and more modern city hospital on the other side of town is being expanded. FAMU's hospital has deteriorated, and its use by the university's nursing and pharmacy schools has been adversely affected.
- A legislative proposal to impose limits on enrollment at each university in the system. FSU's ceiling would be 20,000 students and FAMU's would be 5,000, and the combined total would equal that of the other major universities.
- A formula for allocating funds to the universities that is ostensibly equalitarian, but does not allow for FAMU's need to have additional "catch-up" money to improve its instructional programs. FAMU officials say the university has 6.2 per cent of the system's total enrollment but only 3.1 per cent of the total budget. State Attorney General Robert Shevin has asked for an examination of allocation procedures, saying "perfectly valid arguments" can be made for catch-up spending at a predominantly black university.

Beyond these developments have been the increases in recruitment of black students and faculty by white institutions, the failure of the state to keep up with the demand for housing at FAMU, a new policy on graduate school admissions that threatens to affect FAMU's small graduate program (and also reduce black enrollment in the FSU graduate school), and proposals by FSU on freeway routing and property acquisition that would work in their favor if a merger took place.

Among administrators, faculty and students at FAMU, there is an obsessive preoccupation with the threats which hang over the school. Any new development—even a beneficial one—is examined suspiciously. FAMU has been forced to react for so long that it has been unable to escape from the confinement of the past. It has what Jake Gaither, its famed former football coach, might call a good defense but no offense.

The two men who probably have the most comprehensive view of FAMU's strengths and weaknesses are Dr. George W. Gore Jr., who retired in 1968 after 18 years as its president, and Dr. Benjamin L. Perry Jr., his 52-year-old successor. Dr. Gore, who is now a professor at George Peabody College in Nashville, Tenn., says his perspective of FAMU has changed very little in the three years since he left:

"I think many black people want integration, but they want black institutions, too. They're ambivalent about it. And when integration is offered to them only on the white man's terms, then it's not very attractive. If it means killing off black leadership and giving whites complete control of everything, that's no good. Even without equality, we at least had some autonomy. Of course it's absurd to think of duplicating university facilities in Tallahassee from now on into the indefinite future, but a merger now would leave thousands of blacks without a school, and that would be tragic. It wouldn't be true integration, it wouldn't be equitable—and we'd be suspicious of any effort that was not based on equity."

As an example of current inequity, he noted that FAMU enrolls many students whose scores on the Florida 12th grade test are in the 150 range. "It takes a better job of teaching, more effort and more skill to educate those youngsters," he said. "Overcoming disadvantages costs more. But the other universities say graduate programs also cost more, and they get the extra money for it, but FAMU doesn't. If you've been keeping one group at a disadvantage for a long time and then you say you're going to start treating them the same, that's not equity, because you aren't giving them a chance to catch up."

Dr. Gore acknowledged that even if extra money had been available, there were internal conflicts at FAMU during his tenure that restrained the university from any effort to chart its own destiny. "One of our deans proposed that we take on a new role as a special institution geared to the needs of low-income and underprepared students, black and white," he said. "But that idea was very unpopular with alumni, students, faculty and the black community. They saw it as a bad image, downgrading the university. FAMU has always had many such students, of course, but they're part of the regular program—and many alumni don't even want to admit that. Nobody really knows what to do, what's best. Everybody speaks from the point of view of his own prejudices."

President Perry, now finishing his third year as FAMU's leader, seldom has time to reflect on the job. He likens himself to "that guy in the silent movie who is fighting bats in the bell tower," and he admits that worries over the university's future take up a lot of time. "We use so much of our time fighting this battle," he said, "and many times we never know what's behind some of the attempts to change us."

Dr. Perry insists that his institution be "in on the grassroots" of any

planning about its future, and he wants any new plan to guarantee "acceptability, visibility and survival as an institution." He adds: "An all-black university is out of the question, but we have to survive. We have to develop a unique role. But there are so many obstacles to overcome, not the least of which is that blacks are still looked upon as lepers by so many whites. We have to have a committed political structure to reach our potential as an institution, yet there are only two blacks in the legislature (out of 167) and none on the board of regents (out of eight, with one vacancy)."

He might also have added that there are no blacks among the approximately 40 administrative and academic employees on the staff of the board of regents, and none in high administrative positions in state government.

Pat Braden of the Race Relations Information Center spent three days talking with FAMU students about their school and its future. These viewpoints emerge most clearly:

- There is much distrust of the university administration, past and present. One student said the loss of the law school and the precarious status of the nursing school (now unaccredited) "proves the powerlessness of the administration to curtail kidnappings, amputations or eventual absorption." Another said community leaders could help to prevent or deter the eventual merger of FAMU with FSU, "but they would have to work with the administration, and the administration works with no one."
- A merger with FSU would totally absorb FAMU and the only visible and viable portion left "would be a remedial program, FSU's illegitimate stepsister, 99 per cent black. It would be nothing more than a high school."
- "Merger, absorption and dissolution are all synonymous," in the opinion of one student. "The Florida legislature has no intention of ever giving FAMU its fair portion of the education budget, or of perpetuating its existence." Said another: "The cooperative programs between the two schools are nothing more than a trial marriage. They prove FSU's real intentions."
- Relations between black students at FAMU and FSU are generally good. There is sympathy for the FSU blacks, who are "nothing more than flies in the buttermilk," and who often spend time on the FAMU campus because their social life at FSU is limited. The black students at FSU profess support for FAMU and its efforts "to stay an autonomous black institution."
- FAMU students have a strong sense of unfairness at having to "constantly live under the threat of absorption." One student described it as "a slow, tortuous death."
- FAMU students "would probably destroy portions of FSU in a rage if they could see how much better the facilities are there."

• The FAMU administration should re-evaluate its priorities, said one student: "Our football team is not going to assure this university's existence, but a good business school might."

• Some students say FAMU and other identifiably black universities are necessary "to prepare blacks for their unique life style." One said he came there "to get a black education, where I could identify and live and learn among my people. There is no substitute white institution for that."

Spencer Albert, a former president of the student body, an army veteran and a senior at FAMU, has been there off and on since 1965. He doubts if state officials fully appreciate how much FAMU has meant to the state, and he doubts if they will ensure that the institution's accomplishments are recognized and preserved. "FAMU will be around for the foreseeable future," he says, "but I have no doubt that plans do exist for eventual merger." He notes that FAMU has "acres of open land on the opposite end of its campus from FSU, but new building projects on both campuses are in areas closest to each other."

In the state legislature, the furor caused by past proposals affecting FAMU has made most legislators reluctant to discuss the issue openly. They know that the issue is still alive, though, and some of them are willing to talk about it candidly—if not for attribution. One senator, noting that a 1967 proposal for a 10-year phased merger of FAMU with FSU had been carved up in a House-Senate conference committee, said that "since then, the goal of integration has been set aside, and it's a whole new ball game. We managed to get equal funding for FAMU on a formula basis—before that, they were cheated openly—but we're still perpetuating the cycle of inferiority. Someplace you've got to break that and insist on a single society which appreciates cultural differences. Everybody's going to carry some scars when you go through a social change of this magnitude, but it has to be done. Still, I don't see us embarking on a policy to resolve this issue in the foreseeable future.

"Outright merger is politically out of the question now. There's no constituency for it. Most of the impetus for change should come from inside the institutions—from the universities and the board of regents—but most of it will probably come from society at large, from the public schools and the junior colleges where integration is progressing. A majority of black students are already going somewhere besides FAMU, and as that percentage increases we'll be forced to face up to the consequences of that change."

One House member expressed the view that the legislature must provide the necessary funds "to assist and upgrade FAMU to the point where it is on a par with the other universities. Its quality has to be improved, and it has to get more whites. The idea of merger has been temporarily or permanently shelved because of the negative reaction of the black community. Maybe in another 10 years, when the state needs

another new university, FAMU could be relocated. That way, it wouldn't lose its identity. For years, the white community and the political establishment didn't care about FAMU—it had its band, its football team, and it produced black teachers for segregated schools. But all that's over. If FAMU is going to survive, it will have to be of equal quality with the rest of the system, it will have to be integrated, and it will probably have to be located somewhere else besides Tallahassee. The legislature may be more enlightened about that than the regents, who aren't doing very much about the problem."

Some administrators at FSU say they are prepared to respond to any initiative from FAMU for changes in the relationship between the two institutions, including more cooperative programs, joint appointments of faculty, or even the trading off of some departments. But FAMU's latitude to initiate such discussions is not great.

Remarked one FSU administrator: "How many people of influence in Florida are willing to perpetuate FAMU simply to avoid the trauma of phasing it out, and how many people on the FAMU faculty feel the same? My guess is quite a few of both. President Perry has the loneliest job in town. I think he would really like to make up his own list of priorities and be willing to give up some things in order to get what the school needs and wants. But who can he talk to in his own camp about such matters? They're in a position where they simply can't afford to give up anything—even if it's something or somebody they don't need or want. The chancellor and the regents could be a lot of help there if they would, but they're not helping. Ultimately, it all falls on Perry, and there's no way the man can win."

In the offices of the board of regents near the state capitol, one top administrative officer called Dr. Perry "one of the best black presidents in the country," and then added: "He won't take the initiative to save FAMU. If he were to set new priorities, it would really amount to nothing more than shifting people around. He hasn't fired anybody. That's a protective community out there, and it protects a lot of incompetence. The likelihood of initiative for change coming from within FAMU is so remote as to be unrealistic."

Jack Gant, who was president of the FAMU Alumni Association for four years in the late 1960's, agrees that the institution's future "depends as much on people inside FAMU as it does on those outside it," and he says the university's leaders "have got to make some hard choices." But Gant, who is a doctoral candidate and a special consultant on teacher education in the FSU School of Education, says the key issue in Florida is access to higher education, and he doubts whether the state is committed to guarantee it. "My question is this: Will there be access to higher education for people other than the white middle class? If we didn't have poverty, the people in control would probably invent it, just so there would be somebody on the bottom. But this nation can't make

it unless its black citizens make it too. I'm afraid the leadership lacks the perception to see that. When they decide to dry up FAMU, it'll dry up, and unless they're very subtle about it, there will be blowups all over the place."

Gant doesn't think a merger or phaseout of FAMU is imminent, but he sees evidence of the subtle changes that may ultimately bring it about, and he ticked off three such changes: "First, there is the tightening up of graduate entrance requirements in the universities, based on test scores. Second, there is the determination to keep FAMU's enrollment small. And third, there is the movement of private enterprise into the dormitory business—and they won't build near FAMU."

It is clear from conversations with white officials in the legislature, in the board of regents and in FAMU's sister institutions that the black university faces an uncertain future. They may refer to FAMU as "a symbol of achievement at a time when integration is destroying black institutions," or they may say people "have great pride in its contributions and a loyalty to the place that is as refreshing as it is rare," but they all end up repeating the same conclusions: FAMU has to improve academically. It has to attract more whites. And in the name of "economy," or "integration," or "common sense," it must eventually be united with FSU.

Numerous alternative proposals for the future of FAMU can be picked up in the Tallahassee academic and governmental communities. Here is a partial list:

- Give the FAMU campus to FSU and transplant FAMU to another part of the state, where it could retain its name and black administrative leadership but grow as an integrated institution and an equal partner in the state system.
- Make FAMU a cross-town campus of FSU, under the direction of the FSU administration.
- Combine FAMU and Tallahassee Community College into a single institution, which could assume the campus and the character of either school, or even both of them.
- Make FAMU a specialized residential institution for able but underachieving youngsters of both races whose high school performance, test scores and perhaps income level prohibit them from entering the other universities.
- Make FAMU an undergraduate institution concentrating on specialties not offered at FSU.
- Continue on the present course, with some desegregation at both schools and exchange programs between the two.
- Create a new institution out of FSU and FAMU, giving it a new name, a new administration and a new role and scope.
- Close FAMU entirely.

- Make FAMU a unique and semi-autonomous college of FSU, like Teachers College of Columbia University.
- Trade off certain departments and programs in the state university system, leaving FAMU as an independent institution not duplicated by the others.

Ideas like these may be possible alternatives for the future of FAMU, but they are not solutions. Some of them would amount to little more than punishment for the victims of racism, most of them would be more advantageous to the white majority than to the black minority, and all of them would face a storm of protest from some constituency or other.

None of the parties having an interest in the future of FAMU—neither FAMU officials, legislators, the governor, the board of regents nor officials of the other universities—has taken any recent initiative to chart a future course for the black university. All of them acknowledge privately that some specific strategy should be worked out, but they are divided and uncertain about what it should be and they are reluctant to run the political risk of facing the issue head on. Early in May, Gov. Reubin Askew met with President Perry, some FAMU faculty members and student leaders and told them he would oppose any effort in the legislature to merge FAMU and FSU. He said FAMU historically had been discriminated against in the allocation of state funds, and he pledged not only to work for "fair treatment" for the university but also for extra funds to strengthen its faculty and programs. In the legislature, there has been the usual talk about FAMU and FSU, but no bills have been introduced to change the status quo, and none are expected. The board of regents has enough other problems—including a threatened move by some legislators to abolish the board altogether—and no initiative to alter the relationship between the two Tallahassee universities is likely to come from that body. Likewise, the presidents of the other universities in the system—including FSU—are not about to risk disaster by asserting themselves. It's not the season for whites acting as third parties to try to mediate and solve problems affecting black institutions.

That leaves President Perry and the FAMU community as the only potential source for a new strategy for the future. Whether such an effort will be made, what shape the plans would take, whether there could be internal consensus behind them, and what their chances would be of gaining approval from the governor, the legislature and the regents, are all speculative questions at this point. But meanwhile, without a strategy for the future, time is decidedly in favor of the white majority and against FAMU.

One official of the regents' staff predicted, "As cooperative programs grow between the two universities, there will be a gradual merger of operations. It will be worthwhile to finance FAMU as long as it is serving

a need no one else is serving, but when it isn't, merger will take place. I think it will be an evolutionary thing, over a period of 15 to 25 years, but it will happen."

How peaceful that evolutionary process might be is an open question. Recently, black students at FSU and at the University of Florida in Gainesville have been protesting a variety of conditions they say are oppressive, and FAMU's students have expressed sympathy and solidarity with them. The predominantly white public universities are making a slow and often inept adjustment to the black presence on their campuses, and all six of them put together still have only about one-fifth as many black students as FAMU has. Black student dissatisfaction with the circumstances they find themselves in—both at FAMU and at the other universities—is deep and pervasive.

Most supporters of FAMU apparently want it to remain a separate university in the state system. They want equity in funding and in institutional quality—and that means disproportionately large budget allocations until parity is reached. They want it to retain its name, its history and its traditions. They want it to remain predominantly black. In all probability they will not get all they want, and it may even be that they will get none of it. If that is the case, and if the end of segregation in Florida's universities does not result in greater access, greater influence and greater opportunities for blacks, they will have additional and perhaps conclusive evidence that "integration" on white terms is as inequitable for them as "separate but equal" was for their predecessors.

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28

4. Dismantling the System

Although the first suit attacking segregation in a Southern university was filed in 1936—18 years before *Brown v. Board of Education* outlawed segregation in the public schools—higher education has received relatively little attention in the desegregation era. Since 1968, though, at least seven suits have been filed in federal district courts on the issue of segregation in public colleges. One was the Tennessee State and University of Tennessee suit discussed earlier in this report. The others:

- A suit to block Auburn University from building a branch campus in Montgomery—where it would compete with Alabama State University, a black institution—was decided in favor of Auburn. The court held that nondiscriminatory behavior is required of all colleges, but said no evidence was presented to show that the building of the Auburn branch would necessarily perpetuate the dual system. The new facility was opened to students last fall.
- A public school desegregation case in Alabama (*Lee v. Macon County Board of Education*) was expanded to include 44 junior colleges and trade schools governed by the State Board of Education. The court ordered pairing of certain schools, geographical attendance zones, elimination of duplicate courses, and racial balance of faculties, all to be accomplished by the fall of 1971. The state of Alabama appealed the decision.
- A Mississippi suit against the governing board of the state's institutions of higher learning asks the court to order equalization of all institutions, racial balance of students and teachers, elimination of all forms of segregation within each school, financial aid policies that would make it equally attractive for a student to attend any public college, and geographical or functional zoning.
- A suit in North Carolina seeks desegregation and equalization of all the institutions in that state's public higher education system.
- A suit in Virginia is aimed at blocking the expansion in Petersburg of William Bland College, a two-year division of William & Mary. Virginia State College, a black institution, is also located in Petersburg. (A three-judge federal court ruled against the expansion May 12, but refused to require merger of the two schools, as the plaintiffs in the case had sought.)
- A suit filed in Washington, D. C., alleges that HEW is violating the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments

27

of the U. S. Constitution by not cutting off federal funds to colleges and universities that continue to discriminate on the basis of race.

The Washington case—*Adams v. Richardson*—is a class action in behalf of all federal taxpayers, and it attacks federal support of segregated public schools as well as colleges and universities. In the section on higher education, the suit specifically mentions eight of the 14 instances cited earlier in this report where predominantly black and predominantly white colleges and universities in the same city have overlapping programs and services.

Furthermore, the suit charges that officials in HEW's Office for Civil Rights have, since Jan. 13, 1969, ordered 10 states to submit plans for total desegregation of their higher education systems, but no state has had a plan approved by HEW, some states have ignored the order to submit plans, and no state has been cited for noncompliance with the Civil Rights Act, let alone had its funds cut off. According to the complaint, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma and Florida have refused to submit any plans at all; Arkansas, Pennsylvania and Georgia have submitted plans but HEW has not acted on them; and Virginia, North Carolina and Maryland were given more time to submit plans. (Florida subsequently responded to the order.) The other states—including Tennessee and Alabama, where there are suits attacking segregation—have not even been ordered to submit desegregation plans.

"HEW has thus knowingly failed, and continues to fail, to withhold Federal funds from public colleges and universities which segregate and discriminate on the grounds of race," the complaint alleges. "HEW has thus declined to exercise its jurisdiction under Title IV [of the Civil Rights Act of 1964] with respect to institutions of higher education and in many states such as Louisiana has done so without the slightest pretext or color of law. . ."

Attorneys for the plaintiffs in the *Adams v. Richardson* case include three lawyers from the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund (LDF). Some of the other cases mentioned here are also being handled by LDF attorneys, but in general, that agency has not been nearly as active over the years in college desegregation cases as it has been in public school cases. Recently, however, LDF officials have begun preparations for a concerted effort in this area.

They commissioned a team of black graduate students from the Harvard Law School and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Department of Urban Studies and Planning to do research on the subject, and the students have thus far produced several reports, including one on HEW's desegregation enforcement performance, two others on the Maryland system of public higher education, one on compensatory programs and open enrollment in New York's public institutions, and a background report on the black state colleges and universities. The latter document, written by Elbert R. Bishop Jr. of MIT, concludes that

integration will fail if it results in a decrease in educational opportunity for black students. "White schools will have to be prepared to spend more to attract and retain black students . . . and black schools will have to be equalized to attract and retain white students," the report says.

LDF officials have also been consulting with a large number of educators and attorneys to get a thorough analysis of the problems relating to dismantling of dual systems of higher education. The destiny of many of the public Negro colleges may be affected by strategies arising from those deliberations.

Dual systems of higher education present an unusually complex series of problems. In their present condition, the public black colleges and universities are not competitive with their predominantly white counterparts—if they are no longer entirely separate, they are still not equal. The objective of the states in creating them was to assure separation, not equality. The states, of course, are still predominantly white, and their governmental and educational structures are overwhelmingly white, and it is these leaders who are now faced with the ultimate decisions which will determine the future of the black colleges. On the basis of past performance, there is little or no cause for confidence that the black colleges will remain identifiably black, or that they will be made truly equal, or that the black students they now serve and the black professionals they now employ will benefit from whatever decisions are made.

Ultimately, the real test of a state's commitment to equality of opportunity in higher education will be measured by the extent to which black students, faculty, administrators and trustees are represented in the colleges and universities. But the black institutions are still there, struggling to maintain their identity and to attain parity in a structure where those two objectives may be mutually exclusive.

There is evidently considerable trauma and dissatisfaction involved when a black college becomes majority white, and there is strong black opposition in many states to mergers that threaten the identity of the black schools. Hostility is even greater when a state will neither integrate nor merge a black institution, but chooses instead to create new competition nearby and thus drive the black college into further decline. At a time when there is an acute need for more higher education facilities and an equally severe strain on the higher education budget, such duplication seems wasteful and self-defeating, and may be illegal as well. Wherever public black colleges exist, they are either facing the loss of black identity through integration or merger, or the loss of quality through attrition and neglect. The only alternative they don't have—and never have had—is to be black and equal.

* * *

The 35 Black Public Colleges and Universities

OF THE 35 PUBLIC COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES CREATED TO SERVE BLACKS ONLY:

Three have been annexed by larger and older public universities that are predominantly white:

Maryland State College at Princess Anne is now the University of Maryland-Eastern Shore

Prairie View A&M College is now part of the Texas A&M University administrative structure

Arkansas AM&N College will be merged with the University of Arkansas in July 1972

Three others now have a majority of white students:

Bluefield State College in Bluefield, W. Va.

West Virginia State College in Institute, W. Va.

Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Mo.

Three others have white enrollments of 30 to 40 per cent and appear likely to become majority-white within a few years:

Delaware State College in Dover, Del.

Bowie State College in Bowie, Md.

Kentucky State College in Frankfort, Ky.

Fourteen others have direct competition from predominantly white state institutions located in the same communities:

Alabama A&M University at Huntsville

Alabama State University at Montgomery

Florida A&M University at Tallahassee

Albany (Ga.) State College

Savannah (Ga.) State College

Grambling (La.) State College

Southern University in Baton Rouge, New Orleans and Shreveport, La.

Morgan State College in Baltimore, Md.

Coppin State College in Baltimore, Md.

North Carolina A&T University at Greensboro

Tennessee State University in Nashville

Texas Southern University in Houston
Norfolk (Va.) State College
Virginia State College at Petersburg

Three others are within easy commuting distance of a predominantly white state institution:

North Carolina Central University in Durham
Central State University in Wilberforce, Ohio
Cheyney State College in Cheyney, Pa.

The remaining **nine** institutions are:

Fort Valley (Ga.) State College
Alcorn A&M College in Lorman, Miss.
Jackson (Miss.) State College
Mississippi Valley State College at Itta Bena, Miss.
Elizabeth City (N.C.) State University
Fayetteville (N.C.) State University
Winston-Salem (N.C.) State University
Langston (Okla.) University
South Carolina State College at Orangeburg

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Gaillard, Frye. "Indians in Revolt—1970" Dec. 1970. 14 pp. $1.00

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Hooker, Robert W. "Displacement of Black Teachers in the Eleven Southern States" Dec. 1970. 30 pp. $1.00

Garnett, Bernard and Gaillard, Frye. "The Black Athlete—1970." Part I, "Blacks in Pro Sports" (B. Garnett). Part II, "Crumbling Segregation in the Southeastern Conference" (F. Gaillard). August, 1970. 40 pp. $1.00

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